

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 159

THE COMMUNIST

OCTOBER, 1932

THE SHARPENING CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE, THE RISING TIDE OF
MASS STRUGGLES AND THE NEXT TASKS OF THE PARTY
RESOLUTION OF THE FIFTEENTH PLENUM OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, C. P., U. S. A.

I) The struggle against imperialist war, which becomes increasingly important and pressing each day, must be seriously strengthened. The lag in this work since the 14th Plenum, revealed in our agitation, but especially in the dropping off of the number of special actions (against shipment of munitions, against Japanese imperialism) and in the inadequate August 1 demonstrations, reveals weaknesses which must be overcome. The most systematic and energetic efforts must be made to carry out the directives given for this campaign, to rouse a mass movement against American imperialism and its war preparations, to defend the Chinese people, and to build a living wall of defense around the Workers' Fatherland, the Soviet Union.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 160

THE COMMUNIST

SEPTEMBER, 1933

THE FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PARTY

From the first our Party came forward as the Party of proletarian class struggle. It grew from the ranks of the matured American proletariat whose vanguard it is in the conduct of the day-to-day struggle toward its historic cul-

mination in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND FOR DEFENSE
OF THE SOVIET UNION

In all our campaigns there must be tireless activity to mobilize the masses for struggle against the war plans of the imperialists, to protest and organize definite actions, such as stopping arms and munitions shipments. The feverish war preparations are a warning to the toiling masses that the most decisive actions must be taken against the conspiracies to unleash a new world slaughter, designed to be even more colossal and devastating than the war of 1914-18. In this connection special activity must be carried on among the toiling youth and particular assistance given to the Young Communist League in its anti-imperialist activity, in its work of penetrating the armed forces, etc.

The Communist Party rallies the American working class and all the toiling masses to defend the Soviet Union against the war plots of world imperialism, to defend the Chinese people against the ravages of imperialism, to demand that all war appropriations be converted into unemployment insurance for the millions of unemployed workers.

We constantly warn the American workers against the illusions of pacifism spread by liberals and Socialists. We bring before the masses the Marxist-Leninist analysis of capitalism to demonstrate that war is inherent in the capitalist system, that the only way to end war is to overthrow the capitalist system. Our Party equips the workers with the understanding that the struggle against the imperialist war must, in the event of war, be turned at the opportune moment into civil war for the overthrow of the war-breeding capitalist order. At the same time we fight against the illusions prevalent among some Communists that revolution without imperialist war is impossible.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE PARTY

As the United States section of the Communist International, our Communist Party takes part in the world revolutionary movement. It contributes in every possible way to aiding the fight of the working class and the oppressed masses in all parts of the world. It has representatives in the Communist International who study and contribute to the solution of the problems of all other Parties in the world. At the same time our Party has the benefit of the universal experiences of the revolutionary working class of the whole world which are expressed through the leadership of the Communist International. On many occasions since 1919 our Party has had the guidance of the Communist International in solving the most complicated problems.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 162

DAILY WORKER

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1933

.....

RECOGNITION OF THE U.S.S.R. AND AMERICAN TOILING MASSES

.....

.....

REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT OF CRISIS

.....

The Communist Party of the U. S. A., section of the Communist International, points out that the only guarantee of peace is the abolition of capitalism. Its main task is the abolition of capitalism in the United States.

The deepening of the crisis of American capitalism, the growing sympathy for the Soviet Union, gives the Communist Party of the U.S.A. the widest possibilities of convincing and winning the American toiling masses for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

In this country, the Communist Party, section of the Communist International, basing itself on the principles of Lenin and Stalin, will more determinedly than ever strive to win

the American workers for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the emulation of the Soviet Union and its revolutionary victories.

Now, as before, the only guarantee against the anti-Soviet war moves, which thus far have been driven back by the tremendous strengthening of the economic, diplomatic and military position of the Soviet Union, lies in the mobilization of the widest movement for the defense of the Soviet Union among the oppressed masses in all lands and for the final overthrow of the capitalist war mongers.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 183

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES
(TRANSLATION)**

The All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)
PRAVDA

No. 215(6461), August 6, 1935, p. 1. Organ of the Central Committee and of the Moscow Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik).

**THE PROGRAM OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE
UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS**

The brilliant report of Comrade Georgiy Dimitrov has already been discussed for the fourth day by the delegates of the Congress of the Comintern. A most urgent question is being discussed, which has occupied the thoughts of the proletarians of all the world, of all the working people. Before the working class, before the working people stands the alternative: *Fascism or Socialism, peace or war, freedom or slavery, bread or hunger.*

In the working masses there has now set in a turning from reformism toward a joint struggle with the Communists.

And if a single proletarian front, a people's anti-Fascist front, has not yet been brought about in all countries, this can be explained mainly by the resistance of the Second International and of the leaders of its sections. Comrade Dimitrov analyzed in detail the objections of the opponents of a single front with the Communists. And every honest workman, every laborer, every anti-Fascist, can be convinced of how groundless and artificial these objections are.

The Comintern does not impose any conditions as to the creation of unity of action except one: *that this unity be directed against Fascism, against the danger of a new imperialist war, against the offensive of capital.*

* * * * *

The Communist parties are faced by a series of problems which determine the substance, the character and the direction of their struggle for the masses. Before each party there stands the problem of approaching closer to the masses than ever before, of developing work in all mass organizations more than ever, *irrespective of by whom they were created and for what purposes.*

* * * * *

The life and struggle of the working masses is less like a system than anything else, and can be fitted into prepared patterns less than anything else. The Communists cannot be alien to anything that agitates the popular masses. Concern for the every-day interests of the working people, petty at first sight, and ability to sense closely the attitudes of the masses, to teach these masses and to learn from them—by this at the present time is verified the fighting ability and intensity of the revolutionary attitude of a Communist.

The Communists know that bourgeois democracy is not able at all to ensure firmly the interests of the proletariat and the working people. They know that *only the dictatorship of the proletariat, only the Soviet Government* is the sole salvation of the working class from the yoke of exploitation, from capitalistic barbarism, and is the only way to

4

socialism, one that has been tested by the experience of the U.S.S.R.

The report of Comrade Dimitroff is a fighting program of action which even more decisively and under new conditions turns all the parties of the Communist International to face the masses, a program which brings the parties on the road of the struggle for the cause of Communism. This program has been tested in battles. And it must be carried out. Victory must be achieved, because on it depends the future of our class, the future of socialism, the future of humanity.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 185

THE COMMUNIST

DECEMBER, 1935

THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY

(RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE NOVEMBER PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.U.S.A.)

The Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. endorses fully and wholeheartedly the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. These decisions are already proving the most powerful weapon for building the united front and the people's front against fascism and war, in the struggle for peace, for trade union unity, and for one working class political party.

It is vitally necessary that the decisions of the Seventh World Congress be made the property of the widest masses of American toilers. The Central Committee therefore greets the popularization campaign initiated by the Political Bureau through such means as open membership meetings, public symposium and debates, mass distribution of Dimi-

troff's report, etc. The enthusiastic reception given to the Browder reports, and the reports of the other comrades, by wide circles of workers, non-Communists as well as Communists, at such large gatherings as the memorable Madison Sq. Garden meeting and others throughout the country, proves the possibility for the widest mass popularization of the united front message of our Party.

The Central Committee urges the Party organizations to prosecute further this campaign with the utmost energy. We must strive especially to stimulate fraternal, comradely discussions with Socialists, trade unionists and farmer organizations, through symposiums and similar means, on the practical tasks of building the united and people's front. A most vital phase of this campaign is the popularization of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International to help build the widest anti-fascist youth front throughout the world. The Party press can and must play a most important role in this work.

The Central Committee approves wholeheartedly the work of the Party's delegation. The Central Committee notes especially the prominent part taken by the delegation—Party and Young Communist League—in the Congress deliberations and decisions, the coming forward of the C.P. U.S.A. as a major party in the world organization of the Communists and the harmonious working of the delegation as a body. From this arises a great responsibility, namely, the responsibility of making the united and people's front in the United States an example and a fortress of the world united front against fascism and war.

The Central Committee takes this occasion to send fraternal and revolutionary greetings to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, to its helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff, and to the great leader of the world revolutionary movement, Comrade Stalin.

Our chief task at present is to reorientate the work of the Party in accord with the tactical line of the Seventh World Congress. This line rests upon the central idea that the

working class is now in a position to exercise a decisive influence upon the affairs of its own country as well as upon world affairs. The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union strengthens immeasurably the positions of the workers all over the world. The inability of the bourgeoisie to overcome the collapse of capitalist stabilization and the increasing urge of the Socialists and trade unionists to the united front enable the workers of every capitalist country to carry on an active revolutionary policy of weakening the positions of the bourgeoisie and of strengthening the positions of the proletariat and its allies. It is the policy of thwarting the imperialist designs of the bourgeoisie and its contemplated attacks upon the U.S.S.R. It is the policy of frustrating the offensive of the bourgeoisie upon the toilers and of checking its attempt to introduce fascism. It is a policy that is profoundly hostile to the policy of reforming capitalism which makes the working class the tail end of the bourgeoisie.

In order to help the American workers to pursue such an active revolutionary policy, the Communists must break with the remnants of the old methods of mere general propaganda, must eradicate all remnants of the old traditions of functioning as revolutionary oppositions to the Socialist Party, to the mass trade unions and other mass organizations of the toilers. The bankruptcy of reformist policies, the greater opportunities for winning the masses to revolutionary policies, and the growing urge to the united front—these developments are creating a condition where Communists can and must assume responsibilities for the fate and well-being of the working class and of all toilers today and everyday. We must seek to become an important political factor in the daily life of our country and in the life of the world.

To strengthen the positions of the proletariat in the United States, the Communists must carry on their daily work in such a way as will contribute most effectively to the organization of the millions of unorganized workers into industrial

unions and to the building up of the people's Farmer-Labor Party. This means also the organization and unification of the unemployed, much more serious work among the toiling farmers, the rendering of the most active assistance to the development of the people's liberation movement among the Negroes, the widest mobilization of the toiling women and youth. Only in this way will we enable the American working class to combat the capitalist offensive, to frustrate the incipient fascist movements, to fight effectively for peace and for the defense of the Soviet Union, to combat American imperialism and to render the utmost assistance to the national liberation movements especially in China, in the Caribbean and South America.

Our main weapon for accomplishing the above aims is the united front, trade union unity and trade union democracy. Despite the desperate opposition of the "Old Guard" in the Socialist Party and of the reactionaries in the American Federation of Labor the possibilities are growing more favorable every day for the realization of the united front between the Communists and Socialist Parties as well as for the struggle to realize trade union unity and trade union democracy. The Central Committee calls upon the Party organizations and every Party member to prosecute the struggle for the united front with the utmost determination and flexibility in the *new way* pointed out by the Seventh World Congress.

Every Party member must realize that in fighting for the realization of the united front of the working class we are fighting for the establishment of "the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolutions". This is the link that will fuse the proletariat into a single mass political power and "will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism, against the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets". This gives us the line and methods to infuse the masses with the idea of Communism, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the

present period. This gives us the true weapon for the building and strengthening of the Communist Party, for the realization of the political unity of the American proletariat—one party—and for building the transition to the revolutionary struggle for a Soviet America.

The Central Committee calls upon the Party to do all in its power to help the Young Communist League to accomplish successfully the change in its character indicated by the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International. The cause of uniting the toiling youth is of the most vital importance for the successful struggle against fascism and war. Consequently we must help the Young Communist League to carry through its reconstruction in such a way as will make it most effective in the creation of a genuine mass non-Party youth organization "which will include in its ranks not only Communist youth but also Socialist, national revolutionary, pacifist, religious and other youth, which will educate all its members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism".

The Central Committee places before the Party the important task of studying and devising the best ways of adjusting the Party organization and its structure to the practical tasks confronting us at present. The Central Committee especially urges the Party organizations to improve radically the quality of its cadres by promoting to responsible activity and leadership mass workers, leaders and organizers of mass struggles in the trade unions, among the unemployed, among the toiling farmers, among the youth and women, straining all efforts to enable these cadres to strengthen their theoretical and political education.

Realizing that sectarianism is the chief obstacle to the rapid reorientation of our work along the above lines, the Central Committee calls upon the Party to eradicate all vestiges of sectarianism, all stereotyped and mechanical approaches and methods, uprooting every resistance to effective mass revolutionary work and policies, and guarding vigilantly against Right opportunist tendencies. The Central Committee calls upon the Party membership to cultivate and display the utmost initiative, the ability to apply

in a living way the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Engels and Stalin, political alertness and tactical ability inseparably linked with firmness in the prosecution of our revolutionary aims and boundless loyalty to our revolutionary principles and program.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 205

Daily Worker, May 26, 1943

THE COMINTERN DECISION:

All the important implications and consequences of the proposed dissolution of the Comintern center are not yet fully apparent, nor can they be immediately visible.

The conditions which have made the Comintern as a guiding center both impossible and unnecessary will be discussed in a later article. What I want to emphasize at this point is that the Presidium does not propose to dissolve the Comintern center because the need to unite the workers on a world scale has disappeared. It proposes to do so because that particular organizational form for international proletarian unity, which was established at the First Congress of the Comintern in 1919

"and which corresponded to the needs of the initial period of the rebirth of the labor movement, more and more outlived itself in proportion to the growth of this movement and to the increasing complexity of problems in each country; and that this form even became a hindrance to the further strengthening of the national workers' parties."

That the leading body of any international workingclass organization frankly recognizes that it has outlived its useful function and has even become a hindrance to the growth of workers' parties in various lands must not be mistaken for a sign of weakness or of helpless collapse.

On the contrary, it is a token of the present strength, vitality and basic Marxist-Leninist approach to all those forces

throughout the world which for a quarter century maintained and sought to extend workers' unity through the medium of the Comintern.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 206

Daily Worker, May 31, 1943

**COMINTERN DECISION MARKS NEW PERIOD OF
WORKINGCLASS ACTIVITY**

The dissolution of the Comintern is, therefore, a well-aimed blow at the very base of fascist propaganda, at Hitler, his Fifth Columns and their agents within the United Nations.

It is also a heavy blow at those who have been unable to overcome their prejudices against Communism, based mostly on the hard struggles of the past quarter century, and have themselves played into the hands of the nation's enemies by continuing their work against unity within the labor movement.

For these reasons the self-dissolution of the Comintern will help remove the obstacles to greater unity among the anti-Axis nations and to working class and national unity.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 207

THE COMMUNIST

JULY, 1943

**RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS OF THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM**

**RESOLUTION ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**

1. The Communist Party of the United States, through its National Committee, declares its full approval and agree-

ment with the proposal of May 15, 1943, by the Presiding Committee of the Communist International for the dissolution of the International. The C.P.U.S.A. discontinued its international affiliation in November, 1940, and is therefore not called upon to participate in the decision. The proposal is, however, of the greatest political importance, since it profoundly influences all political relationships, promotes the unification of the anti-Hitler coalition, disarms the Axis of its most potent weapon of disruption—the anti-Communist bogey—and opens the way within each nation toward more complete national unity in the prosecution of the war to victory.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 208

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

A MARXIST MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF
DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT AND ACTION

EARL BROWDER, *Editor*; EUGENE DENNIS, *Associate Editor*;
V. J. JEROME, *Managing Editor*

JULY, 1945

ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE UNITED STATES

By JACQUES DUCLOS

REPRINTED FROM THE APRIL ISSUE OF CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME,
THEORETICAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
FRANCE.

Without analyzing in detail Browder's full position on the dissolution of the C.P.U.S.A. and creation of the Communist Political Association, and without making a developed critique of this position, one can nevertheless deduce from it the following conclusions.

1. The course applied under Browder's leadership ended in practice in liquidation of the independent political party of the working class in the U. S.

2. Despite declarations regarding recognition of the principles of Marxism, one is witnessing a notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder and his supporters, a revision which is expressed in the concept of a long-term class peace in the United States, of the possibility of the suppression of the class struggle in the postwar period and of establishment of harmony between labor and capital.

In truth, nothing justifies the dissolution of the American Communist Party, in our opinion.

And as far as the American Communists are concerned, it is clear that their desire to serve the unity of their country and the cause of human progress places before them tasks which pre-suppose the existence of a powerful Communist Party.

The American Communists have an especially important role to play in the struggle taking place between the progressive forces of the earth and fascist barbarism.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 214-A

November 10, 1947, No. 1

FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!

A. ZHDANOV

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION*

* A speech delivered at the Informative Conference of representatives of a number of the Communist Parties held in Poland at the end of September, 1947.

II.

THE NEW POST-WAR ALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL FORCES AND
THE FORMATION OF TWO CAMPS: THE IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-
DEMOCRATIC CAMP, AND THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND
DEMOCRATIC ONE.

A new alignment of political forces has arisen.

The principal driving force of the imperialist camp is the U.S.A. Allied with it are Great Britain and France.

The anti-fascist forces comprise the second camp. This camp is based on the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies. It also includes countries that have broken with imperialism and have firmly set foot on the path of democratic development, such as Rumania, Hungary and Finland.

All the forces of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist camp are united in the effort to secure a just and democratic peace. It is this united effort that has brought about and strengthened friendly co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and democratic countries on all questions of foreign policy. These countries, and in the first place the new democracies—Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania, which played a big part in the war of liberation from fascism, as well as Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and to some extent Finland, which have joined the anti-fascist front—have proved themselves in the post-war period staunch defenders of peace, democracy and their own liberty and independence against all attempts on the part of the United States and Great Britain to turn them back in their course and to bring them again under the imperialist yoke.

III.

THE AMERICAN PLAN FOR THE ENTHRALLMENT OF EUROPE.

Under present conditions imperialist countries like the U.S.A., Great Britain and the states closely associated with them become dangerous enemies of national independence and the self-determination of nations, while the Soviet Union and the new democracies are a reliable bulwark against encroachments on the equality and self-determination of nations.

IV.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN UNITING THE DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-FASCIST, PEACE-LOVING ELEMENTS TO RESIST THE NEW PLANS OF WAR AND AGGRESSION

The Comintern was founded after the first world war, when the Communist Parties were still weak, when practically no ties existed between the working classes of the different countries, and when the Communist Parties had not yet produced generally recognized leaders of the labour movement. The service performed by the Comintern was that it restored and strengthened the ties between the working people of the different countries, that it elaborated theoretical questions of the labour movement in the new, post-war conditions of development, that it established general standards of propaganda of the ideas of Communism, and that it facilitated the preparation of leaders of the labour movement. This created the conditions for the conversion of the young Communist Parties into mass labour parties. But once the young Communist Parties had become mass labour parties, the direction of these parties from one centre became impossible and inexpedient. As a result, the Comintern, from a factor promoting the development of the Communist Parties began to turn into a factor hindering their development. The new stage in the development of the Communist Parties demanded new forms of contact among

the parties. It was these considerations that made it necessary to dissolve the Comintern and to devise new forms of connection between the parties.

But the present position of the Communist Parties has its shortcomings. Some comrades understood the dissolution of the Comintern to imply the elimination of all ties, of all contact, between the fraternal Communist Parties. But experience has shown that such mutual isolation of the Communist Parties is wrong, harmful and, in point of fact, unnatural.

There can be no doubt that if the situation were to continue it would be fraught with most serious consequences to the development of the work of the fraternal parties. The need for mutual consultation and voluntary coordination of action between individual parties has become particularly urgent at the present juncture when continued isolation may lead to a slackening of mutual understanding, and at times, even to serious blunders.

The Communists must be the leaders in enlisting all anti-fascist and freedom-loving elements in the struggle against the new American expansionist plans for the enslavement of Europe.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 217

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES
(TRANSLATION)**

**Workers of all countries, unite!
The All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik).**

P R A V D A

**Organ of the Central Committee and of the Moscow Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik).
March 11, 1950, pp. 2-3.**

Speech by Comrade V. M. Molotov at the meeting of the voters of the Molotov election district of the City of Moscow, delivered March 10, 1950.

Comrades!

The victory over German fascism and Japanese imperialism and the decisive role of the USSR in the crushing of these aggressive forces brought about important changes in the international situation.

Since the October Revolution in our country, the victory of the national liberation movement in China appears as a new and most powerful blow at the entire system of world imperialism and at all plans of imperialist aggression in our time.

In the capitalist countries themselves we now have millions of active friends who are closing ranks more and more in a broad democratic, anti-imperialist movement.

The democratic camp, which unites the USSR and the countries of the people's democracy, is opposed by the camp of the imperialist powers headed by the ruling circles of the United States of America.

It is our permanent task and important duty to watch everything that is going on in the camp of imperialism.

The ruling circles of the imperialist camp are steering an entirely different course.

The imperialists are countering the policy of enduring peace in the whole world with the policy of preparing a new world war.

○ All kinds of blackmailers from this camp were yesterday trying to frighten us with the atom bomb. Today they are frightening us with the so-called "hydrogen bomb", which still does not actually exist. They should not brag so much and should remember that while they were practicing blackmail with regard to the monopolistic possession of the atom bomb, the Soviet people, as is well known, did not waste time but became the possessors of the secret of producing atomic energy and atomic weapons (Prolonged applause). Only fools, like one of the ministers who went mad, could devote themselves to the crazy idea of frightening the Soviet Union and confusing their own people by advertising various aggressive plans, not understanding that in the present conditions, by rejecting peaceful competition and unleashing a new war, the imperialists will unavoidably provoke such just and decisive indignation of peoples that it will sweep imperialism and aggression from the face of the earth forever. (Stormy applause).

We fully stand for the Leninist-Stalinist principles of peaceful-coexistence of the two systems and their peaceful economic competition. But we know it to be true that while imperialism exists, there also exists the danger of new aggression and that in the presence of imperialism and its predatory plans wars are unavoidable. Therefore, the advocates of a durable peace among the peoples must not be passive and become empty pacifists who are charmed by phrases, but they must every day conduct a stubborn and still more effective struggle for peace, drawing into it the masses of the people and not stopping before appropriate measures when the imperialists attempt to unleash new aggression.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 219

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

JUNE, 1950

PEOPLE'S FRONT AND PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

In using the at the time current phrase "new route to Socialism," which has since been rejected by the Parties in the People's Democracies, I, in the pamphlet *In Defense of the Communist Party and the Indicted Leaders*, was speaking in the tactical sense.

Of course, it is a matter of simple, ascertainable fact that, tactically speaking, the workers of the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and of the Chinese People's Republic are not proceeding toward the achievement of Socialism with the identical tactics used by the Russian working class. And it could not be otherwise. They would not be Marxist-Leninists but political fools who would try to apply rigid, uniform tactics to all these widely ranging situations. These tactical variations are extremely important. Good or bad tactics in a given situation can make the difference between victory and defeat. But, regardless of tactical variations that may be necessary as the class struggle proceeds, the road to Socialism remains the same—through the defeat of the capitalist class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 231

**FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY!**

**BUCHAREST. ORGAN OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES.**

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1949

**32ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION**

**REPORT DELIVERED BY G. M. MALENKOV AT ANNIVERSARY MEET-
ING OF MOSCOW SOVIET, NOVEMBER 6, 1949**

II.

**THE SOVIET UNION STANDS FOR PEACE AND DEFENDS
THE CAUSE OF PEACE**

Comrades.

If asked what is the main thing in our foreign policy, it is, to put it briefly, that the Soviet Union stands for peace and upholds the cause of peace. (Prolonged applause).

The Soviet Union steadfastly pursues the policy of peace and friendship among nations. We do not want war and we shall do everything in our power to prevent it.

Our peace policy arises from the very foundations of our Socialist system and from the interests of the Soviet people. Having completely abolished in our country the age-old exploitation of man by man, we have eliminated the reasons and conditions which, in the capitalist world, give rise to the policy of exploiting and enslaving other peoples.

Having created a model of fraternal co-operation among peoples of different races and nationalities, unparalleled in human history, we have abolished for ever the policy of basing the welfare of one State on the suppression of other States.

A policy, which has as its guiding principle the suppression of the national sovereignty of other peoples, is alien to us. A Socialist State does not need foreign expansion. It

does not need colonial seizures. The Soviet Socialist system has uprooted the causes giving rise to economic crises, from which the rulers of the capitalist world usually seek to escape along the road of military gambles.

We live in an epoch when the movement of the masses toward democracy and Socialism daily becomes more powerful; when the camp of peace and democracy has become a mighty factor in the entire international arena.

History knows no such mass movement as that uniting the international supporters of peace. There is not a single country in which this movement does not possess a base nor one in which it is not growing and spreading.

It is precisely the successes of the camp of peace that drive the warmongers to increasing frenzy. The programme of the main enemies of peace stands out clearer with every passing day; a programme which envisages the creation, by means of violence and new wars, of an American world empire which, in scale, would surpass any of the world empires built by any conqueror in history.

The idea is nothing more or less than that of turning the whole world into a colony of the American imperialists, of reducing sovereign peoples to a state of slavery.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 249*For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy!***M. SUSLOV****DEFENCE OF PEACE AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE
WARMONGERS****REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE MEETING OF THE INFORMATION
BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES HELD IN THE SECOND
HALF OF NOVEMBER 1949****FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1949, No. 29 (56)**

Comrades. A little more than two years have passed since the first Information Meeting of the representatives of a number of Communist Parties was held.

The Declaration issued by this Meeting gave a profound analysis of changes which had taken place in the international situation as a result of World War Two and during the first post-war years. It revealed the formation of two camps in the world arena and the contrast of their aims and tasks; it exposed the aggressive plans of the imperialist camp headed by the U.S.; plans aimed at establishing world domination of Anglo-American imperialism and destroying democracy; it laid bare the treacherous role of the chieftains of Right-Wing Social Democracy as accomplices of imperialism in all its anti-popular activities.

The entire course of events for the past two years has fully confirmed the correctness of the estimation of the international situation given by the first Meeting of the Information Bureau, and of the perspectives and tasks of the anti-imperialist camp as outlined by that Meeting.

III.**COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN THE VANGUARD OF THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST WARMONGERS**

To frustrate the plans of imperialist aggression, the greatest vigilance by the peoples is essential, also the further ex-

tension of the front of peace and the further consolidation and active struggle of all forces standing for peace.

Particular attention should be devoted to drawing into the peace movement trade unions, women's, youth, co-operative, sport, cultural-education, religious and other organisations, and also scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, parliamentary and other political and public leaders who act in defence of peace and against war.

That is why the cardinal task of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to draw the broadest sections of the working class into the ranks of fighters for the cause of peace; to effect firm working class unity; resolutely combat the Right-Wing Socialist disrupters and disorganizers of the working class movement: organise joint actions of various sections of the proletariat on the basis of a joint platform of struggle for peace and for the national independence of their countries.

Trade union bodies affiliated to the W.F.T.U. play a great role in organising peace supporters. In many countries they are the initiators of the national peace movement and of the formation of national committees in defence of peace.

The democratic youth of all countries demonstrated its will for peace and the readiness to struggle for it at the World Conference of Working Youth held in Warsaw in 1947 and at World Youth congresses and festivals in 1948 and 1949. The World Federation of Democratic Youth, rallying in its ranks over 60 million young men and women, actively champions the cause of peace.

The duty of Communist and working class parties in capitalist countries is to merge the struggle for national independence with the struggle for peace; tirelessly to ex-

pose the anti-national, treacherous nature of the policy of bourgeois governments which have become direct lieutenants of U.S. imperialism; to rally and consolidate all democratic patriotic forces in each country round the slogans of eliminating the shameful U.S. bondage, and the adoption of an independent foreign and home policy corresponding to the national interests of the peoples.

The Communist and Workers' parties should carry high the banner defending the national independence and sovereignty of their countries.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 251

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

(DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES)

(TRANSLATION)

Workers of the world unite!

All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)

P R A V D A

Organ of the Central Committee and the Moscow Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), No. 29 (11136), January 29, 1949, pp. 2-3.

**STATEMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE USSR CONCERNING
THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT**

On January 14th the Department of State of the United States of America published a wordy statement under the bombastic phrase "Let us build peace. Collective security in the North Atlantic area."

**I. THE WESTERN ALLIANCE—A WEAPON OF THE AGGRESSIVE
ANGLO-AMERICAN BLOC IN EUROPE**

The Western Alliance is expected also to include certain other European countries which are ready to adapt their

policy to the purposes of the said grouping, headed by Great Britain. Moreover, it is a known fact that the founders of the Western Alliance from the very beginning excluded the possibility of participation in this alliance on the part of all people's democracies and the Soviet Union, thereby revealing that the Western Alliance was created not for the purpose of uniting peace-loving European countries and in general not in the interest of assuring lasting peace in Europe but for other purposes which have absolutely nothing to do with the interests of strengthening peace and international security.

.

Just as the execution of the Marshall Plan has not been directed toward the real economic recovery of European states but is a means of adapting the policy and economy of the "Marshall Plan" countries to the narrowly self-centered and strategic plans of Anglo-American domination in Europe, in the same way the formation of the new grouping is not at all designed for purposes of mutual assistance and collective defense of the members of the Western Alliance, since under the conditions of fulfillment of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements these countries are not threatened by any aggression, but is endeavoring to strengthen and further expand the predominant influence of the Anglo-American ruling circles in Europe by subordinating to their narrow interests the entire foreign and domestic policy of the corresponding European states. The incompatibility of such political plans of the Anglo-American bloc with the interests of peace and the fulfillment of the principles of democracy in the European countries is absolutely manifest.

.

II.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT AND ANGLO-AMERICAN PLANS
FOR WORLD DOMINATION

The North Atlantic Draft Treaty and the circumstances accompanying its preparation clearly reveal the aspirations of the Anglo-American bloc for world domination.

Finally, we must speak of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, which are carrying out the real will of their people and the great principles of friendship and equal rights in relations with other nations.

The very existence of the Soviet State, with its growing power and its international authority, and likewise the powerful support given to it by the democratic forces in other countries constitute an insurmountable barrier in the way of all plans of any kind for the establishment of world domination by one power or another; this has already found its historical confirmation in the liquidation of the fascist states and their attempts to achieve their fantastic plans for world domination, which differ little from the present plans for establishing Anglo-American domination.

No intelligent person can claim that this is being done for purposes of self-defense on the part of the USA. On the contrary, it is likewise known that since the Second World War, which ended with the destruction of the aggressive powers, no danger of aggression exists for the United States.

Moreover, can it be considered an accidental fact that the United States and Great Britain, even after the termination of the Second World War, have maintained their combined military staff in Washington, which is stealthily continuing its work and preparing new plans of aggression. If there were no such plans, there would be no reason for maintain-

ing this Washington staff under present world conditions and there would be no need for sending American and also British troops to the territories of a new and ever increasing number of states.

The aggressive character of U.S. policy with respect to the growing democratic forces and entire democratic countries is widely known. Thus the Greek people cannot get out of the blind alley which has been created, since reactionary forces alien to the people find powerful support from abroad. Last year all the people of Czechoslovakia had to do was to check the reactionary circles of their own country somewhat and lend support to the leading democratic forces, and the ruling circles in the USA and in the entire Anglo-American bloc raised an incredible howl over the internal events in Czechoslovakia, with every kind of attempt at intervention in these internal affairs.

This Pact is backed not only by the ruling aggressive circles in the USA and by its British exponents such as Churchill or Bevin, but also by quite a number of warmongers of lesser importance. However, it should not be forgotten that the signing of such or similar pacts still does not give a guarantee and still does not create the possibility of achieving the aggressive aims set by the authors of these pacts. In this connection we must remember the unanimous support given by the democratic circles in all countries to the famous statement made by J. V. Stalin, the head of the Soviet Government, to the effect that "the horrors of the recent war are too vivid in the memory of the nations and the social forces standing for peace are too great for Churchill's disciples in aggression to be able to overcome them and turn them in the direction of a new war."

III

THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE—AN UNDERMINING
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The said resolution gives free rein to the government of the USA in the matter of forming any kind of international alliances in time of peace and, under the pretext of assuring security, it permits the ruling circles of the USA to enter into any kind of groupings and to embark on any kind of adventure, which fully corresponds to the present aggressive moods of the ruling circles in the United States.

The adoption of this resolution by the United States Senate means that the ruling circles in the USA have not only broken all their principal obligations with respect to the United Nations but have also shifted to a new course in their foreign policy, which from now on is directed toward the forcible establishment of Anglo-American world domination. From this it follows that the resolution adopted by the United States Senate means that the ruling circles in the USA have expressed themselves in favor of a policy of aggression, in favor of a policy of unleashing a new war.

Consequently, the so-called "new direction" in the foreign policy of the ruling circles of these states means that *they have returned to the old anti-Soviet course* of foreign policy, based on isolating the USSR, which they adhered to during the years preceding the Second World War and which almost led European civilization to ruin.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCLUSIONS

First Conclusion

The Soviet Union has been compelled to take into consideration the fact that the ruling circles in the United States and Great Britain have shifted to an openly aggressive political course, the ultimate aim of which is the forcible

establishment of Anglo-American world domination, and that the policy of aggression adopted by them, the policy of unleashing a new war, serves this aim.

In view of this situation the Soviet Union must still more energetically and more consistently conduct the struggle against all and any warmongers, against the policy of aggression and of unleashing a new war, and in favor of universal and lasting democratic peace.

In this struggle for strengthening universal peace and international security the Soviet Union considers as its allies all other peace-loving states and all those countless champions of universal democratic peace who are the real spokesmen of the feelings and thoughts of nations which have carried on their shoulders the incredible burdens of the last world war and with legitimate reasons repudiate all aggressors and instigators of a new war.

Second Conclusion

Everybody sees that the United Nations is now being undermined, because to a certain extent it checks and restrains aggressive circles in their policy of aggression and unleashing a new war.

In view of this situation the Soviet Union must struggle still more firmly and still more persistently against the undermining and destruction of the United Nations by aggressive elements and their helpers and must strive to prevail upon the United Nations not to indulge such elements, as often happens these days, but to set a higher value on its authority when it is a case of thwarting those who are conducting a policy of aggression and unleashing a new war.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 258

FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY!

NOVEMBER 29, 1949

COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA IN THE POWER OF
MURDERERS AND SPIES*Resolution of the Information Bureau*

The Information Bureau, consisting of representatives of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Rumanian Workers' Party, Working People's Party of Hungary, United Workers Party of Poland, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Communist Party of France, and the Czechoslovak and Italian Communist Parties, having considered the question: "The Yugoslav Communist Party in the power of murderers and spies," unanimously reached the following conclusions:

Whereas, in June 1948 the meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties noted the change over of the Tito-Rankovic clique from democracy and socialism to bourgeois nationalism, during the period that has elapsed since the meeting of the Information Bureau, this clique has travelled all the way from bourgeois nationalism to fascism and outright betrayal of the national interests of Yugoslavia.

The change-over of the Tito clique to fascism was not fortuitous. It was effected on the order of their masters, the Anglo-American imperialists, whose mercenaries, it is now clear, this clique has been for long.

The Yugoslav traitors, obeying the will of the imperialists, undertook to form, in the People's Democracies political gangs consisting of reactionaries, nationalists, clerical and fascist elements and, relying on these gangs, to bring about counter-revolutionary coups in these countries, wrest them

from the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp and subordinate them to the forces of imperialism.

The Tito clique transformed Belgrade into an American centre for espionage and anti-Communist propaganda.

When all genuine friends of peace, democracy and socialism see in the U.S.S.R. a powerful fortress of Socialism, a faithful and steadfast defender of the freedom and independence of nations and the principal bulwark of peace. The Tito-Rankovic clique, having attained power under the mask of friendship with the U.S.S.R., began on the orders of the Anglo-American imperialists, a campaign of slander and provocation against the Soviet Union, utilising the most vile calumnies borrowed from the arsenal of Hitler.

The transformation of the Tito-Rankovic clique into a direct agency of imperialism, and accomplices of the warmongers, culminated in the lining up of the Yugoslav Government with the imperialist bloc at U.N.O., where the Kardeljs, Djilas and Beblers, joined in a united front with American reactionaries on vital matters of international policy.

The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties considers therefore, that the struggle against the Tito clique—hired spies and murderers, is the international duty of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is the duty of Communist and Workers' Parties to give all possible aid to the Yugoslav working class and working peasantry who are fighting for the return of Yugoslavia to the camp of democracy and socialism.

A necessary condition for the return of Yugoslavia to the socialist camp is active struggle on the part of revolutionary elements both inside the Yugoslav Communist Party and outside its ranks, for the regeneration of the revolutionary, genuine Communist Party of Yugoslavia, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and fighting for the independence of Yugoslavia from imperialism.

The loyal Communist forces in Yugoslavia, who, in the present brutal conditions of fascist terror, are deprived of

the possibility of engaging in open action against the Tito-Rankevic clique, were compelled in the struggle for the cause of Communism, to follow the path taken by the Communists in those countries where legal work is forbidden.

The Information Bureau expresses the firm conviction that, among the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, forces will be found capable of ensuring victory over the bourgeois-restoration espionage Tito-Rankevic clique; that the toiling people of Yugoslavia led by the working class will succeed in restoring the historical gains of People's Democracy, won at the price of heavy sacrifice and heroic struggle by the peoples of Yugoslavia and that they will take the road of building socialism.

The Information Bureau considers one of the most important tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties to be an all-round heightening of revolutionary vigilance in Party ranks; exposing and rooting out bourgeois-nationalist elements and agents of imperialism, no matter under what flag they conceal themselves.

The Information Bureau recognises the need for more ideological work in the Communist and Workers' Parties; more work to train Communists in the spirit of loyalty to proletarian internationalism; irreconcilability to any departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and in the spirit of loyalty to Peoples' Democracy and Socialism.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 264

FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY!

AUGUST 1st, 1948

POWERFUL DEMONSTRATION OF FORCES IN DEMOCRATIC CAMP

Comrade Stalin's telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy said: "The Central Com-

mittees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) is grieved that Comrade Togliatti's friends failed to protect him from this foul and cowardly attack."

The reply sent by the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party to Comrade Stalin is worthy of this well-tested Party. In their answer the Italian comrades assure Comrade Stalin that the solidarity of the heroic Soviet people and Stalin's warning about vigilance will be for the Italian Communists "a spur to strengthen and develop the struggle of the united international front of peace, democracy and socialism."

All the Communist Parties took Comrade Stalin's message to the Italian Communist Party as the expression of his great solicitude for the international working class movement and its leaders.

Increased struggle against remnants and revivals of fascism, the welding of all supporters of democracy and progress into a single socialist camp will be the best answer of the Communists of all countries to Comrade Stalin's solicitude.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 269

Daily Worker

JUNE 9, 1950

WORLD PEACE PLEDGE

We demand the unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon as an instrument of aggression and mass extermination of people, and the establishment of strict international control over the fulfillment of this decision.

We will regard as a war criminal that government which first uses the atomic weapon against any country.

A historic campaign to sign up 5,000,000 Americans in a mighty crusade for peace was launched at Manhattan Center last night.

Thousands of New Yorkers, gathered in the Unite-for-Peace rally, gave their enthusiastic support to the World Peace Appeal, and pledged to participate in a swift, three-month drive to add 5,000,000 Americans to the roster of 100,000,000 who have already signed the appeal throughout the rest of the world.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 270

Daily Worker

JULY 13, 1950

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IS AMERICA'S ONLY SALVATION

BY MICHAEL RUSSO

*Assistant National Organizational Secretary,
Communist Party*

The pages of history are crowded with examples of the infamy of the exploiting classes. But few, if any, match the infamous role of American imperialism in Korea. None has been fraught with more danger to the world. Wall Street's rapacious hand has shoved us to the very edge of the precipice; the fate of the world hangs in balance. Unless the people act at once to halt Wall Street's mad adventure, millions of people will pay with their lives, for the atomic catastrophe against which the decent people of the world have warned will become a tragic reality.

Not the least of Wall Street's objectives in its criminal attack upon the Korean people is to undermine and destroy the rapidly growing peace movement in our own country and to prevent its merging with the world movement for peace.

This powerful current for peace can, if organized, become a formidable obstacle to the further enfolding of Wall Street's design for war. Despite the sustained and furious campaign to condition them into accepting the inevitability

of a new world war, despite the lies about Soviet "aggression," despite the Korean provocation, the American people, in their overwhelming majority, still cling tenaciously to the view that peace can and must be won.

By confronting the American people with an accomplished fact, the Korean invasion was calculated, in part, to achieve what cold war propaganda could not accomplish, namely, the breaking down of the people's desire for peace and mounting resistance to war. The people, however, though momentarily confused by events, view the Korean provocation with deep suspicion and with growing fear that it will precipitate world war.

If the American people want to give expression to their desire for peace and against atomic war they must demand that Washington withhold all military aid from the Korean quislings and withdraw all American troops and military personnel.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 292

THE COMMUNIST

JULY, 1929

THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

By H. M. WICKS

The recognition on the part of Communists that the question of the imminence of another world war is the central problem of the day places sharply before us the question of revolutionary tactics in the struggle against imperialist war. August 1st has been set aside by the Communist International as a day of strikes and mighty mass demonstrations in every country in the world against the threats of the war-mongers. This fifteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the last world war is a day of world-wide mobilization of the masses against capitalism, a challenge to the capitalist states.

of the world^a that are driving relentlessly toward another world war.

.

In this situation the Second International is an active aid of the capitalist states by trying to confuse the masses with pacifist phrases and openly assisting the bourgeoisie organize an anti-Bolshevik bloc. The social democratic international and all its sections have been placed at the disposal of the imperialist powers in their campaign against the workers' and peasants' government of the Soviet Union. The social-democratic press has become a publicity bureau for the imperialists by publishing the most malignant slanders against the Soviet Union, by talking about "red imperialism" and endeavoring to alienate the masses from defense of the Soviet Union so that their imperialist masters will not fear to wage a war of intervention in an effort to destroy it. The social democrats try to conceal their role as servants of capitalism by pacifist talk. They spread illusions concerning the possibility of preventing war by disarmament, by committees of arbitration, by reparations agreements, by the action of the League of Nations, etc.

Against this sort of deception is the clear call to action by the Communist International, which urges a determined revolutionary struggle against war. As a section of the world revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the United States, is engaged in mobilizing all its resources to organize mass demonstrations and strikes throughout the country.

The first prerequisite for any effective campaign is the internal strengthening and clarification of the Party. The face of the Party must be toward the industries. There must be activation of all the factory nuclei and careful preparations for enlisting the broadest masses in the demonstrations. The shop papers must expose the war plans of the government. The struggle against the war danger must be utilized to aid in the drive to organize the unorganized workers in the war industries. The Party district confer-

ences that are being held must not only mobilize the nuclei but must strengthen the departments of the Party organizationally. The women's departments must be strengthened and a drive made to enlist the working women in the demonstrations and strikes. The organization of defense groups is imperative not merely for one day's activity on International Red Day, but as permanent forces in the struggle against the tyranny of the police, the gangsters and thugs of the employers. The agitation and propaganda departments of the Party must be strengthened and conferences held so that the maximum of our resources may be concentrated on the ideological campaign for International Red Day during the remaining weeks before August 1st.

• • • • •

But it is not sufficient in our drive against imperialist war merely to concentrate upon the war industries. We must be able to reach the masses in the armed forces of the nation with revolutionary agitation and propaganda calculated to cause defections and mutiny in the ranks.

We do not indulge in the social-democratic twaddle about disarmament. We will not tell the soldiers in the army to throw away their guns and run home. We tell them to hold their guns in their hands and use them against their own capitalist oppressors. When faced with an imperialist war as an accomplished fact we must be able to popularize definite revolutionary slogans among the armed forces. In case of a war between imperialist nations we raise the slogan of fraternization with the soldiers of the opposing army, refusal to obey commands of officers, mutinies, and other forms of disruptive work. In case of a war against the Soviet Union our main slogan will be different. We will then urge the soldiers in the imperialist armies to desert the army and with their guns and as much ammunition as they can get, go over to the side of the Red Army against the imperialist forces.

While the capitalists prepare for another imperialist war, we prepare to utilize the difficulties for capitalism arising

out of such a war in order to initiate the next stage of the world revolution.

We realize that such a conflict requires careful preparation under the leadership of a determined Bolshevik party. Turning an imperialist war between nations into a civil war against capitalism is not a simple matter, it is not a game for dilettantes to play. It requires the most highly developed revolutionary strategy and an ability to estimate the relative forces involved in the struggle as well as the precise moment for the launching of the insurrection.

When a revolutionary situation is developing, as a result of war or from any other cause, the Party of the proletariat must lead a direct attack against the capitalist state. The slogans put forth must be of such a nature as to guide the movement in its development, which will take the form at first of mass strikes and armed demonstrations. In that stage there arises the question of arming of the working class and disarming the capitalist class. Finally the highest form of struggle is reached wherein it culminates in the general strike and a merging of large sections of the military forces and the workers for armed insurrection against the capitalist state power.

We thus indicate the high-lights in the development of the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie in order to emphasize the world-historic importance of the mobilization of the working class for the struggle against imperialist war. Every revolutionary worker, realizing the significance of August 1st, will work day and night to make our strikes and demonstrations the greatest concerted action on the part of the working class this country has ever seen.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 294*Daily Worker*

AUGUST 16, 1940

WORKERS' ENEMIES EXPOSED

The New York State Committee of the Communist Party has expelled from its ranks Manning Johnson, who is running as a candidate for public office on the Democratic Party ticket. Johnson, an official of Local 302 of the Cafeteria Workers Union, has frequently in the past exhibited opportunistic tendencies and has more recently shown himself to be a politically degenerate and totally unreliable person.

All members and sympathizers are warned not to have anything to do with him.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 296**THE COMMUNIST**

JANUARY, 1940

ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND STUDY OF THE "HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)" AND THE PROPAGATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AUG. 10, 1939

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)" FOR THE COMMUNIST WORLD MOVEMENT, THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT AND THE WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES

The appearance of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* is one of the greatest events in the life of the Communist world movement and of the international labor movement, in the struggle of the working people of all countries for emancipation. Written with the immediate participation of Comrade Stalin and authorized by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.),

the *History* occupies an extraordinary place among the classic works of Marxism-Leninism. The *History* is intended to play—and will undoubtedly play—a very important role in the successful mastering of Bolshevism by the Communists of the capitalist countries, in the consolidation of the Sections of the Communist International, and in raising their ideological and political level.

• • • • •

The *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B.)* is the common property of the Communists, the labor movement, the toilers of all countries. It is the history of the Bolshevik Party of that country which has become the birthplace of Leninism, the fatherland of the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the socialist revolution, the country of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, the country of socialism, the fatherland of the toilers of all countries.

• • • • •

The Communists must always remember Lenin's and Stalin's instructions that one must know how to apply the experiences of the C.P.S.U.(B.), to the new historical conditions of the struggle of the working class. The Communist Parties must always bear in mind that "some fundamental features of our revolution have no local, no specific national, exclusively Russian, but international importance" (Lenin), but the Communists of every country must "investigate, study, find out, judge and understand the specifically national feature in the concrete methods of every country in solving the uniform international task." (Lenin) This is the more necessary as the paths to the attainment of the proletarian dictatorship, Soviet power, may be different in the various capitalist countries.

The *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* teaches the international proletariat how the struggle for the fulfillment of the fundamental task, to defeat capitalism, can be successfully combined with the defense of the daily interests of the toilers and the fulfillment of the daily tasks confronting the prole-

tariat in the various stages of its struggle. By the study and thoroughgoing exposition of the *History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)* the Communist Parties obtain a powerful weapon for the struggle against fascism and the fascist warmongers, for the setting up and consolidation of the workers' united front and people's front, for the establishment of the united international front of the nations against the aggressors: they obtain a weapon enabling them to rally the millions of toilers round the great country of socialism.

By their improved mastery of the theory of Marxism-Leninism the Communists can, in applying the tactics of the united front, avoid both its Right-opportunist distortion and lapses into sectarianism. They are able to isolate and defeat the capitulators and other enemies in the labor movement and overcome the difficulties in the way of rallying the toilers under the leadership of the working class.

"But theory can become the greatest force in the labor movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice, for it, and it alone, can give to the movement confidence, the power of orientation and an understanding of the inner connection between events; for it, and it alone, can help us in our practical work to discern how and in which direction classes are moving not only at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future."

2. ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE "HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)"

It would be a mistake to compare the distribution of the *History* with that of other earlier published books. In their sales campaigns for the *History* the Communist Parties must bear in mind that behind each member of the Communist Party (as can be seen by the votes cast for the Commu-

† Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 27. International Publishers, New York.

ist Party candidates at elections in the countries with a legal Communist movement) there stand ten to fifteen sympathizers who are ready to support the Party. It is necessary to make the appearance of the *History* the turning point in the sale of Marxist-Leninist literature, the powerful lever, in order to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the broad masses.

In order to secure a broad and correct distribution of the book it is necessary to adopt the following measures:

- (a) To see that every member of the Party gets a copy of the *History*, studies it and makes it his or her textbook;
- (b) To employ every method to distribute the *History* among the Social-Democratic workers and cadres of the Social-Democratic parties;
- (c) To devote particular attention to the distribution of the book among the members, and in particular the officials, of the trade unions, the mass labor organizations and the democratic organizations (cooperatives, cultural organizations, etc.); to see to it that the libraries of these organizations are supplied with the *History*;
- (d) To organize the sale of the book among the progressive intelligentsia, including the progressive section of the students;
- (e) To devote greatest attention to the distribution of the *History* among the youth, to overcome the inadmissible lagging behind in this sphere (even in France where up to now the distribution of the work has been successfully conducted); the young Communists must become the champions for the distribution of the *History*;
- (f) To organize the distribution of the book also among the progressive elements of the peasantry, and thereby to put an end to the prejudice of some Communists that "the peasants are unable to read and study a serious Marxist book."
- (g) For the distribution of the *History* in the countries of fascist dictatorship and in the colonies where the work of the Communist Parties is encountering great difficulties, it

is necessary that the legal Communist Parties (Communist Parties of France, United States, Great Britain, Holland and other countries) assist the illegal and weaker Communist Parties.

(h) The guidance of the distributive work of the *History* must by no means be left entirely in the hands of the publishers. It must be in the hands of the Central Committee of the Party. All Party organizations, propagandists and agitators, as well as those persons who sympathize with the Party, must be drawn into the work of distribution. It is advisable to publish in the press comments of readers, Communists, non-Party people, trade union officials, prominent members of the progressive intelligentsia, etc., on the book. The reporting on the distribution must be made in an exact manner (as is being done in France). It is necessary to ascertain in every locality how this work is being carried on, whereby inadequate and wrong methods must be corrected. The achieved results are to be published in the press and reported at meetings and conferences, as is being done in France and in the United States in order to stimulate the increased sale of the *History*.

It is particularly important in the countries with a legal labor movement to maintain a permanent contact with the purchasers of the book, to assist them in the study and to try to make them active propagandists and canvassers for the *History*.

3. ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY OF "THE HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U. (B.)"

The organizing of the study of the *History* must not bear the character of a temporary campaign. A systematic activity must be initiated which should in every way arouse among the Communists and the toilers the desire to study more of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

In organizing the study of the *History* attention must be directed that in the first place the Party cadres, the Com-

munist officials, the officials of the Young Communist League, of the trade unions and other mass organizations study the book. It must be considered as an axiom in the Party that only those members can be real Bolsheviks who study the "Short Course" and indefatigably work to raise their level of theoretical knowledge.

At the same time it is necessary that the leadership of the Party adopt every measure in order to draw also sympathizers, Social-Democratic workers, trade union officials who are not Communists, and others into the study of the *History*.

In considering the peculiarities of the various capitalist countries it would be advisable to take into account the following suggestions as guiding lines for the study of the *History*.

I. IN COUNTRIES WITH A LEGAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

(a) The study of the *History* should be organized according to groups, and care must be taken to bring in all Party members. A great political educational task must be accomplished, and all necessary organizational measures must be carried out so that the Party members really participate in the study of the *History* and do not restrict themselves to formal resolutions of the leadership to the effect that participation of Communists in the study is necessary.

(b) For the responsible functionaries who are politically more educated, for the leading cadres of the Party, it is considered necessary to organize in the main centers of the countries some special circles of a higher type at which the source material, and primarily the works quoted in the *History* are used for study.

(c) Side by side with the study of the *History* in the groups and circles, independent study of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* must throughout be organized and furthered, particularly among the more politically educated cadres of the Party.

(d) For the propaganda of the *History* and of the theory

of Marxism-Leninism among the non-Party elements and among the membership of anti-fascist parties and organizations, lectures, readings and discussions should be organized within these organizations, with particular reference to theoretical questions which have an immediate importance.

It is necessary that the most highly educated Communists, politically and theoretically, should, under the direction of the Party organizations, form circles in factories and working class districts for the study of the *History* among the non-Party workers, particularly Social-Democrats.

II. IN COUNTRIES WHERE THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS ILLEGAL

The correct organization of the study of the *History* is, in the countries under fascist dictatorship, the most important means for the creation of a strong illegal Communist Party, capable, in spite of the raging terror, of carrying on systematic mass work and of organizing and leading the struggle of the working class and of the toilers for the overthrow of the fascist power. The study of the *History* must become an effective factor in the establishment of new lower Party organizations, in the recruitment of new members, and in the building up and strengthening of the illegal Communist Parties. In these countries, it is necessary to apply the most various and elastic forms of study of the *History*.

IV. THE STUDY OF THE "HISTORY" IN THE PARTY SCHOOLS

For the more rapid and more basic education of strong Marxist-Leninist cadres, it is necessary to extend the network of schools, to transform their curriculum, and critically to examine all literature used by the schools, in accordance with the viewpoints given in the *History*.

The most important measures with regard to the schools are as follows:

- (a) To introduce in the central Party schools a course, "Foundations of Marxism-Leninism," as the sole course for

the study of the science of Marxism-Leninism. The *History* and Comrade Stalin's *Leninism* to be used as the basis of this study program. The course on "History of the Working Class" of the particular country in question is to be maintained as an independent course in the school's program, and must be most closely related to the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* and to *Leninism*.

(b) Whenever conditions of legality permit, care should be taken to establish evening courses for the study of the *History* to the widest possible extent throughout the lower and middle cadres of the Party.

(c) In the short-term schools the chief effort should be directed towards enabling those Party cadres who have been through the school to continue independently a more thorough study of the *History* and of the other works of Marxism-Leninism.

4. THE PROPAGATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM MUST BE BROUGHT TO A HIGHER LEVEL

A situation must be brought about in which every Party functionary without exception not only himself studies the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* and works to raise the level of his theoretical knowledge, but also that he undertakes alongside his general Party work a specific task of teaching.

(g) The work of the publishing houses is to be so organized that, besides the contemporary agitational literature, they not only publish the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also strive to achieve for them the very widest distribution.

The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union teaches us that:

"Only a party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward."*

Only such a Party will be capable of defending the interests of the proletariat and of the toiling masses, of fusing the forces of the anti-fascist front, of repelling fascism and the fascist incendiaries and of bringing about the overthrow of the hated fascist dictatorship. Only such a Party will be capable of leading the working class in the attack upon capitalism, of standing at the head of the struggle of the toilers for their liberation from capitalist slavery, and leading them, through the achievement and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the gleaming summits of the Communist society.

Signed by the Communist Parties
of France, Great Britain, the
U.S.A., Germany and Italy.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 323

Daily Worker

JULY 17, 1951

**CP ASKS PEOPLE UNITE FOR KOREA ARMISTICE
AND WORLD PEACE**

The National Committee of the Communist Party yesterday urged that the people unite to bring about the speedy conclusion of an armistice in Korea and the "peaceful settlement of all other issues." The statement declared that "broadest united front actions, around this demand as well as in the fight against the war-economy measures, and against the fascist trampling of the Bill of Rights, are urgently necessary and possible of realization."

* *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, p. 355. International Publishers, New York.

"The fight for peace can be immeasurably strengthened and advanced," the National Committee asserted, "if the American people intervened at this critical stage and make their voices heard in no uncertain terms."

Warning against "further pretexts" by the Truman Administration and the military brass to disrupt ceasefire negotiations, the statement said that "the American people ought to challenge the Truman Administration's propaganda about the 'danger of peace,' which is used to cover up their desire to go full speed ahead with all war preparations, with the consequent militarization and fascization of the country; with the attacks on labor, the Negro people, and the constitutional rights of all Americans; with its continued undermining of the people's standard of living and economic welfare while war profits soar to fantastic heights. The American people do not fear the so-called danger of peace; "they fear only the danger of war and all the consequences of a war economy."

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 328

**THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation

of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions:

By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International; and the free cooperation of the American people with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of man.

To this end, the Communist Party of the United States of America establishes the basic laws of its organization in this Constitution.

ARTICLE VI

THE PARTY: RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

Section 15. No Party member shall have personal or political relationship with confirmed Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, or other known enemies of the Party and of the working class.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 329

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. It champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the

workers, farmers and all who labor by hand and brain against capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the advanced party of the working class, it stands in the forefront of this struggle.

The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties. It uncompromisingly fights against imperialism and colonial oppression, against racial, national and religious discrimination, against Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism.

The Communist Party struggles for the complete destruction of fascism and for a durable peace. It seeks to safeguard the welfare of the people and the nation, recognizing that the working class, through its trade unions and by its independent political action, is the most consistent fighter for democracy, national freedom and social progress.

The Communist Party holds as a basic principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands. It recognizes further that the true national interests of our country and the cause of peace and progress require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples and the continued and ever closer cooperation of the United Nations.

The Communist Party recognizes that the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class.

The Communist Party, therefore, educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of Socialism. Socialism, the highest form of democracy, will guarantee the full realization of the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happi-

ness," and will turn the achievements of labor, science and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

In the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and the great working class traditions of Sylvis, Debs and Ruthenberg. It fights side by side with all who join in this cause.

For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party of the United States establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution:

Adopted by the Convention of the Communist Party of the State of New York, held in New York City, August 10-11-12, 1945.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 330

**HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
SOVIET UNION**

(BOLSHEVIKS)

Short Course

**EDITED BY A COMMISSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)**

AUTHORIZED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)

**Copyright, 1939, by
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS Co., INC.**

CHAPTER FIVE

**THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY DURING THE NEW RISE OF THE
WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT BEFORE THE FIRST
IMPERIALIST WAR (1912-1914)**

2. THE BOLSHEVIK NEWSPAPER "PRAVDA," THE BOLSHEVIK GROUP IN THE FOURTH STATE DUMA

A powerful instrument used by the Bolshevik Party to strengthen its organization and to spread its influence among the masses was the Bolshevik daily newspaper *Pravda* (*Truth*), published in St. Petersburg. It was founded, according to Lenin's instructions, on the initiative of Stalin, Olminsky and Poletayev. *Pravda* was a mass working-class paper founded simultaneously with the new rise of the revolutionary movement. Its first issue appeared on April 22 (May 5, New Style), 1912. This was a day of real celebration for the workers. In honour of *Pravda*'s appearance it was decided henceforward to celebrate May 5 as workers' press day.

Previous to the appearance of *Pravda*, the Bolsheviks already had a weekly newspaper called *Zvezda*, intended for advanced workers. *Zvezda* played an important part at the time of the Lena events. It printed a number of trenchant political articles by Lenin and Stalin which mobilized the working-class for the struggle. But in view of the rising revolutionary tide, a weekly newspaper no longer met the requirements of the Bolshevik Party. A daily mass political newspaper designed for the broadest sections of the workers was needed. *Pravda* was such a newspaper.

The tsarist government suppressed *Pravda* eight times in the space of two and a half years; but each time, with the support of the workers, it reappeared under a new but similar name, e.g., *Za Pravdu* (*For Truth*), *Put Pravdy* (*Path of Truth*), *Trudovaya Pravda* (*Labour Truth*).

What did *Pravda* write about?

Every issue contained dozens of letters from workers describing their life, the savage exploitation and the various forms of oppression and humiliation they suffered at the

hands of the capitalists, their managers and foremen. These were trenchant and telling indictments of capitalist conditions. *Pravda* often reported cases of suicide of unemployed and starving workers who had lost hope of ever finding jobs again.

Pravda wrote of the needs and demands of the workers of various factories and branches of industry, and told how the workers were fighting for their demands. Almost every issue contained reports of strikes at various factories. In big and protracted strikes, the newspaper helped to organize collections among the workers of other factories and branches of industry for the support of the strikers. Sometimes tens of thousands of rubles were collected for the strike funds, huge sums for those days when the majority of the workers received not more than 70 or 80 kopeks per day. This fostered a spirit of proletarian solidarity among the workers and a consciousness of the unity of interests of all workers.

The workers reacted to every political event, to every victory or defeat, by sending to *Pravda* letters, greetings, protests, etc. In its articles *Pravda* dealt with the tasks of the working-class movement from a consistent Bolshevik standpoint. A legally published newspaper could not call openly for the overthrow of tsardom. It had to resort to hints, which, however, the class-conscious workers understood very well, and which they explained to the masses. When, for example, *Pravda* wrote of the "full and uncurtailed demands of the Year Five," the workers understood that this meant the revolutionary slogans of the Bolsheviks, namely, the overthrow of tsardom, a democratic republic, the confiscation of the landed estates, and an 8-hour day.

Pravda organized the advanced workers on the eve of the elections to the Fourth Duma. It exposed the treacherous position of those who advocated an agreement with the liberal bourgeoisie, the advocates of the "Stolypin Labour Party"—the Mensheviks. *Pravda* called upon the workers

to vote for those who advocated the "full and uncurtailed demands of the Year Five," that is, the Bolsheviks.

Pravda helped to organize the mass actions of the proletariat. At the time of a big lockout in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1914, when it was inexpedient to declare a mass strike, *Pravda* called upon the workers to resort to other forms of struggle, such as mass meetings in the factories and demonstrations in the streets. This could not be stated openly in the newspaper. But the call was understood by class-conscious workers when they read an article by Lenin bearing the modest title "Forms of the Working-Class Movement" and stating that at the given moment strikes should yield place to a higher form of the working-class movement—which meant a call to organize meetings and demonstrations.

In this way the illegal revolutionary activities of the Bolsheviks were combined with legal forms of agitation and organization of the masses of the workers through *Pravda*.

Pravda not only wrote of the life of the workers, their strikes and demonstrations, but also regularly described the life of the peasants, the famines from which they suffered, their exploitation by the feudal landlords. It described how as a result of the Stolypin "reform" the kulak farmers robbed the peasants of the best parts of their land. *Pravda* drew the attention of the class-conscious workers to the widespread and burning discontent in the countryside. It taught the proletariat that the objectives of the Revolution of 1905 had not been attained, and that a new revolution was impending. It taught that in this second revolution the proletariat must act as the real leader and guide of the people, and that in this revolution it would have so powerful an ally as the revolutionary peasantry.

At the time *Pravda* was founded the illegal Social-Democratic organizations were entirely under the direction of the

Bolsheviks. On the other hand, the legal forms of organization, such as the Duma group, the press, the sick benefit societies, the trade unions, had not yet been fully wrested from the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks had to wage a determined struggle to drive the Liquidators out of the legally existing organizations of the working class. Thanks to *Pravda*, this fight ended in victory.

Pravda stood in the centre of the struggle for the Party principle, for the building up of a mass working-class revolutionary party. *Pravda* rallied the legally existing organizations around the illegal centres of the Bolshevik Party and directed the working-class movement towards one definite aim—preparation for revolution.

Pravda had a vast number of worker correspondents. In one year alone it printed over eleven thousand letters from workers. But it was not only by letters that *Pravda* maintained contact with the working-class masses. Numbers of workers from the factories visited the editorial office every day. In the *Pravda* editorial office was concentrated a large share of the organizational work of the Party. Here meetings were arranged with representatives from Party nuclei; here reports were received of Party work in the mills and factories; and from here were transmitted the instructions of the St. Petersburg Committee and the Central Committee of the Party.

* * * * *

The Bolsheviks at that time were called "Pravdists." A whole generation of the revolutionary proletariat was reared by *Pravda*, the generation which subsequently made the October Socialist Revolution. *Pravda* was backed by tens and hundreds of thousands of workers. During the rise of the revolutionary movement (1912-14) the solid foundation was laid of a mass Bolshevik Party, a foundation which

no persecution by tsardom could destroy during the imperialist war.

"The *Pravda* of 1912 was the laying of the corner-stone of the victory of Bolshevism in 1917." (*Stalin.*)

CHAPTER SIX

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE PERIOD OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR. THE SECOND REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA (1914-MARCH 1917)

3. THEORY AND TACTICS OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY ON THE QUESTION OF WAR, PEACE AND REVOLUTION

The Bolsheviks were not mere pacifists who sighed for peace and confined themselves to the propaganda of peace, as the majority of the Left Social-Democrats did. The Bolsheviks advocated an active revolutionary struggle for peace, to the point of overthrowing the rule of the bellicose imperialist bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks linked up the cause of peace with the cause of the victory of the proletarian revolution, holding that the surest way of ending the war and securing a just peace, a peace without annexations and indemnities, was to overthrow the rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary renunciation of revolution and their treacherous slogan of preserving "civil peace" in time of war, the Bolsheviks advanced the slogan of "*converting the imperialist war into a civil war.*" This slogan meant that the labouring people, including the armed workers and peasants clad in soldiers' uniform, were to turn their weapons against their own bourgeoisie and overthrow its rule if they wanted to put an end to the war and achieve a just peace.

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary policy of defending the bourgeois fatherland, the Bolsheviks advanced the policy of "*the defeat of one's own*

government in the imperialist war." This meant voting against war credits, forming illegal revolutionary organizations in the armed forces, supporting fraternization among the soldiers at the front, organizing revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants against the war, and turning these actions into an uprising against one's own imperialist government.

The Bolsheviks maintained that the lesser evil for the people would be the military defeat of the tsarist government in the imperialist war, for this would facilitate the victory of the people over tsardom and the success of the struggle of the working class for emancipation from capitalist slavery and imperialist wars. Lenin held that the policy of working for the defeat of one's own imperialist government must be pursued not only by the Russian revolutionaries, but by the revolutionary parties of the working class in *all* the belligerent countries.

It was not to *every kind* of war that the Bolsheviks were opposed. They were only opposed to wars of conquest, imperialist wars. The Bolsheviks held that there are two kinds of wars:

a) *Just wars*, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

b) *Unjust wars*, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

Wars of the first kind the Bolsheviks supported. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintained that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government.

Of great importance to the working class of the world was Lenin's theoretical work during the war. In the spring of 1916 Lenin wrote a book entitled *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. In this book he showed that imperial-

ism is the highest stage of capitalism, a stage at which it has already become transformed from "progressive" capitalism to parasite capitalism, decaying capitalism, and that imperialism is moribund capitalism. This, of course, did not mean that capitalism would die away of itself, without a revolution of the proletariat, that it would just rot on the stalk. Lenin always taught that without a revolution of the working class capitalism cannot be overthrown. Therefore, while defining imperialism as moribund capitalism, Lenin at the same time showed that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

Lenin showed that in the era of imperialism the capitalist yoke becomes more and more oppressive, that under imperialism the revolt of the proletariat against the foundations of capitalism grows, and that the elements of a revolutionary outbreak accumulate in capitalist countries.

Lenin showed that in the era of imperialism the revolutionary crisis in the colonial and dependent countries becomes more acute, that the elements of revolt against imperialism, the elements of a war of liberation from imperialism accumulate.

Lenin showed that under imperialism the unevenness of development and the contradictions of capitalism have grown particularly acute, that the struggle for markets and fields for the export of capital, the struggle for colonies, for sources of raw material, makes periodical imperialist wars for the redivision of the world inevitable.

Lenin showed that it is just this unevenness of development of capitalism that gives rise to imperialist wars, which undermine the strength of imperialism and make it possible to break the front of imperialism at its weakest point.

From all this Lenin drew the conclusion that it was quite possible for the proletariat to break the imperialist front in one place or in several places, that the victory of Socialism was *possible* first in several countries or even in one country, taken singly, that the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries was *impossible* owing to the un-

evenness of development of capitalism, and that Socialism would be victorious first in one country or in several countries, while the others would remain bourgeois countries for some time longer.

Here is the formulation of this brilliant deduction as given by Lenin in two articles written during the imperialist war:

1) "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of Socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own Socialist production, would stand up *against* the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries: . . ." (From the article, "The United States of Europe Slogan," written in August, 1915.—Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 141.)

2) "The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in *all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. This must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the Socialist country. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for Socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie." (From the article, "War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," written in the autumn of 1916.—Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. XIX, p. 325.)

This was a *new* and complete theory of the Socialist revolution, a theory affirming the possibility of the victory of Socialism in separate countries, and indicating the conditions of this victory and its prospects, theory whose fundamentals were outlined by Lenin as far back as 1905 in his

pamphlet, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.

This theory fundamentally differed from the view current among the Marxist in the period of *pre-imperialist* capitalism, when they held that the victory of Socialism in one separate country was impossible, and that it would take place simultaneously in all the civilized countries. On the basis of the facts concerning *imperialist* capitalism set forth in his remarkable book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin displaced this view as obsolete and set forth a new theory, from which it follows that the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries is *impossible*, while the victory of Socialism in one capitalist country, taken singly, is *possible*.

The inestimable importance of Lenin's theory of Socialist revolution lies not only in the fact that it has enriched Marxism with a new theory and has advanced Marxism, but also in the fact that it opens up a revolutionary perspective for the proletarians of separate countries, that it unfetters their initiative in the onslaught of their own, national bourgeoisie, that it teaches them to take advantage of a war situation to organize this onslaught, and that it strengthens their faith in the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Such was the theoretical and tactical stand of the Bolsheviks on the questions of war, peace and revolution.

It was on the basis of this stand that the Bolsheviks carried on their practical work in Russia.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION AND REALIZATION OF THE OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION (APRIL 1917-1918)

4. THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY ADOPTS THE COURSE OF PREPARING FOR ARMED UPRISING. SIXTH PARTY CONGRESS

The congress adopted a resolution on the Youth Leagues, which at that time frequently sprang up spontaneously. As a result of the Party's subsequent efforts it succeeded in definitely securing the adherence of these young organizations which became a reserve of the Party.

The Sixth Congress adopted new Party Rules. These rules provided that all Party organizations shall be built on the principle of *democratic centralism*.

This meant:

- 1) That all directing bodies of the Party, from top to bottom, shall be elected;
- 2) That Party bodies shall give periodical accounts of their activities to their respective Party organizations;
- 3) That there shall be strict Party discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority;
- 4) That all decisions of higher bodies shall be absolutely binding on lower bodies and on all Party members.

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE PERIOD OF FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION AND CIVIL WAR (1918-1920)

2. DEFEAT OF GERMANY IN THE WAR. REVOLUTION IN GERMANY. FOUNDING OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS.

The tide of revolution in Europe began to mount. A revolutionary movement started in Austria, and a Soviet Republic arose in Hungary. With the rising tide of the revolution Communist parties came to the surface.

A real basis now existed for a union of the Communist parties; for the formation of the Third, Communist International.

In March 1919, on the initiative of the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, the First Congress of the Communist Parties of various countries, held in Moscow, founded the Communist International. Although many of the delegates were prevented by the blockade and imperialist persecution from arriving in Moscow, the most important countries of Europe and America were represented at this First Congress. The work of the congress was guided by Lenin.

Lenin reported on the subject of bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He brought out the importance of the Soviet system, showing that it meant genuine democracy for the working people. The congress adopted a manifesto to the proletariat of all countries, calling upon them to wage a determined struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the triumph of Soviets all over the world.

The congress set up an Executive Committee of the Third, Communist International (E.C.C.I.).

Thus was founded an international revolutionary proletarian organization of a new type—the Communist International—the Marxist-Leninist International.

CHAPTER NINE

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO THE PEACEFUL WORK OF ECONOMIC RESTORATION (1921-1925)

5. THE SOVIET UNION TOWARDS THE END OF THE RESTORATION PERIOD. THE QUESTION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY. ZINOVIEV-KAMENEV "NEW OPPOSITION," FOURTEENTH PARTY CONGRESS. POLICY OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY

But the Party knew that the problem of the victory of Socialism in one country did not end there. The construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union would be a momentous

turning point in the history of mankind, a victory for the working class and peasantry of the U.S.S.R., marking a new epoch in the history of the world. Yet this was an internal affair of the U.S.S.R. and was only a part of the problem of the victory of Socialism. The other part of the problem was its international aspect. In substantiating the thesis that Socialism could be victorious in one country, Comrade Stalin had repeatedly pointed out that the question should be viewed from two aspects, the domestic and the international. As for the domestic aspect of the question, i.e., the class relations within the country, the working class and the peasantry of the U.S.S.R. were fully capable of vanquishing their own bourgeoisie *economically* and building a complete Socialist society. But there was also the international aspect of the question, namely, the sphere of foreign relations, the sphere of the relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries, between the Soviet people and the international bourgeoisie, which hated the Soviet system and was seeking the chance to start again armed intervention in the Soviet Union, to make new attempts to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R. And since the U.S.S.R. was as yet the only Socialist country, all the other countries remaining capitalist, the U.S.S.R. continued to be encircled by a capitalist world, which gave rise to the danger of capitalist intervention. Clearly, there would be a danger of capitalist intervention as long as this capitalist encirclement existed. Could the Soviet people by their own efforts destroy this external danger, the danger of capitalist intervention in the U.S.S.R.? No, they could not. They could not, because in order to destroy the danger of capitalist intervention the capitalist encirclement would have to be destroyed; and the capitalist encirclement could be destroyed only as a result of victorious proletarian revolutions in at least several countries. It followed from this that the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., as expressed in the abolition of the capitalist economic system and the building of a Socialist economic system, could not be considered a *final* victory, inasmuch as the

danger of foreign armed intervention and of attempts to restore capitalism had not been eliminated, and inasmuch as the Socialist country had no guarantee against this danger. To destroy the danger of foreign capitalist intervention, the capitalist encirclement would have to be destroyed.

Of course, as long as the Soviet Government pursued a correct policy, the Soviet people and their Red Army would be able to beat off a new foreign capitalist intervention just as they had beaten off the first capitalist intervention of 1918-20. But this would not mean that the danger of new capitalist intervention would be eliminated. The defeat of the first intervention did not destroy the danger of new intervention, inasmuch as the source of the danger of intervention—the capitalist encirclement—continued to exist. Neither would the danger of intervention be destroyed by the defeat of the new intervention if the capitalist encirclement continued to exist.

It followed from this that the victory of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries was a matter of vital concern to the working people of the U.S.S.R.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE (1930-1934)

1. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN 1930-34. ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. JAPANESE ANNEXATION OF MAN- CHURIA. FASCISTS' ADVENT TO POWER IN GERMANY. TWO SEATS OF WAR

The world economic crisis further aggravated the contradictions between the imperialist states, between the victor countries and the vanquished countries, between the imperialist states and the colonial and dependent countries, between the workers and the capitalists, between the peasants and the landlords.

In his report on behalf of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the bourgeoisie would seek a way out of the economic crisis, on the one hand, by crushing the working class through the establishment of fascist dictatorship, i.e., the dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic capitalist elements, and, on the other hand, by fomenting war for the redivision of colonies and spheres of influence at the expense of the poorly defended countries.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE TO COMPLETE THE BUILDING OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY. INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION (1935-1937)

1. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN 1935-37. TEMPORARY MITIGATION OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS. BEGINNING OF A NEW ECONOMIC CRISIS. SEIZURE OF ETHIOPIA BY ITALY. GERMAN AND ITALIAN INTERVENTION IN SPAIN. JAPANESE INVASION OF CENTRAL CHINA. BEGINNING OF SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR.

This war, it will be seen, is of a rather strange and one-sided character. But that does not prevent it from being a brutal war of unmitigated conquest waged at the expense of the poorly defended peoples of Ethiopia, Spain and China.

Clearly, the U.S.S.R. could not shut its eyes to such a turn in the international situation and ignore the ominous events. Any war, however small, started by the aggressors, constitutes a menace to the peaceable countries. The second imperialist war, which has so "imperceptibly" stolen upon the nations and has involved over five hundred million people, is bound all the more to represent a most serious

danger to all nations, and to the U.S.S.R. in the first place. This is eloquently borne out by the formation of the "Anti-Communist Bloc" by Germany, Italy and Japan. Therefore, our country, while pursuing its policy of peace, set to work to further strengthen its frontier defences and the fighting efficiency of its Red Army and Navy. Towards the end of 1934 the U.S.S.R. joined the League of Nations. It did so in the knowledge that the League, in spite of its weakness, might nevertheless serve as a place where aggressors can be exposed, and as a certain instrument of peace, however feeble, that might hinder the outbreak of war. The Soviet Union considered that in times like these even so weak an international organization as the League of Nations should not be ignored. In May 1935 a treaty of mutual assistance against possible attack by aggressors was signed between France and the U.S.S.R. A similar treaty was simultaneously concluded between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. In March 1936 the U.S.S.R. signed a treaty of mutual assistance with the Mongolian People's Republic, and in August 1937 a pact of non-aggression with the Republic of China.

CONCLUSION

2) The history of the Party further teaches us that a party of the working class cannot perform the role of leader of its class, cannot perform the role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, unless it has mastered the advanced theory of the working-class movement, the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the Party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present, but

how and in what direction they are bound to develop in the future.


Only a party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward.

On the other hand, a party which has not mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory is compelled to grope its way, loses confidence in its actions and is unable to lead the working class forward.

It may seem that all that is required for mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory is diligently to learn by heart isolated conclusions and propositions from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, learn to quote them at opportune times and rest at that, in the hope that the conclusions and propositions thus memorized will suit each and every situation and occasion. But such an approach to the Marxist-Leninist theory is altogether wrong. The Marxist-Leninist theory must not be regarded as a collection of dogmas, as a catechism, as a symbol of faith, and the Marxists themselves as pedants and dogmatists. The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working-class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of the Communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still, but develops and perfects itself. Clearly, in its development it is bound to become enriched by new experience and new knowledge, and some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new conclusions and propositions corresponding to the new historical conditions.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not at all mean learning all its formulas and conclusions by heart and clinging to their every letter. To master the Marxist-Leninist theory we must first of all learn to distinguish between its letter and substance.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means assimilating the substance of this theory and learning to use it in the



solution of the practical problems of the revolutionary movement under the varying conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action.

However, the Russian Revolution of 1905, and especially the Revolution of February 1917, advanced a new form of political organization of society—the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies. As a result of a study of the experience of the two Russian revolutions, Lenin, on the basis of the theory of Marxism, arrived at the conclusion that the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat was not a parliamentary democratic republic, but a republic of Soviets. Proceeding from this, Lenin, in April 1917, during the period of transition from the bourgeois to the Socialist revolution, issued the slogan of a republic of Soviets as the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The opportunists of all countries clung to the parliamentary republic and accused Lenin of departing from Marxism and destroying democracy. But it was Lenin, of course, who was the real Marxist who had mastered the theory of Marxism, and not the opportunists, for Lenin was advancing the Marxist theory by enriching it with new experience, whereas the opportunists were dragging it back and transforming one of its propositions into a dogma.

What would have happened to the Party, to our revolution, to Marxism, if Lenin had been overawed by the letter of Marxism and had not had the courage to replace one of the old propositions of Marxism, formulated by Engels, by the new proposition regarding the republic of Soviets, a proposition that corresponded to the new historical conditions? The Party would have groped in the dark, the Soviets would have been disorganized, we should not have had a Soviet power, and the Marxist theory would have

suffered a severe setback. The proletariat would have lost, and the enemies of the proletariat would have won.

It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels the master theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and the other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who have advanced the Marxist theory and who have enriched it with new experience in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.

And just because Lenin and the Leninists have advanced the Marxist theory, Leninism is a further development of Marxism; it is Marxism in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat, Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, Marxism of the epoch of the victory of Socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The Bolshevik Party could not have won in October 1917 if its foremost men had not mastered the theory of Marxism, if they had not learned to regard his theory as a guide to action, if they had not learned to advance the Marxist theory by enriching it with the new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat.

3) The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the petty-bourgeois parties which are active within the ranks of the working class and which push the backward sections of the working class into the arms of the bourgeoisie, thus splitting the unity of the working class, are smashed, the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible.

4) The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst, it cannot preserve unity and discipline within its ranks, it cannot

perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, nor its role as the builder of the new, Socialist society.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 331

Daily Worker, March 3, 1949

**U. S. COMMUNISTS WILL OPPOSE WALL ST. WAR,
SAY FOSTER, DENNIS**

William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, chairman and general secretary of the Communist Party, yesterday declared that, in the event Wall Street succeeded in starting a new world war, despite the efforts of peace forces to prevent it, American Communists would oppose such "an unjust, aggressive, imperialist war" and would work "with all democratic forces" to bring that war to an end.

Their statement came after requests by newspapers that they comment on the recent statements of Maurice Thorez of France and Palmiro Togliatti of Italy in respect to war and peace in Europe. Foster and Dennis hailed the Thorez and Togliatti statements, saying they "emphatically serve the cause of peace."

Six questions seeking elaboration on the statement were sent in by reporters to Dennis, who was engaged in a conference concerning the trial of the Communist Party leaders set to open next Monday. Dennis replied that he would seek to answer the questions in the course of the trial.

A seventh question, whether the Foster-Dennis statement came in response to "orders from Moscow," was termed "nonsense" by a spokesman for the Party. Text of the Foster-Dennis statement follows:

"The Thorez and Togliatti statements emphatically serve the cause of universal peace.

"Only those who plot a third world war and seek to embroil France and Italy in aggressive military operations against our great ally of World War II, the Soviet Union,

could read anything un-French or un-Italian in these statements.

"French and Italian sovereignty and independence are threatened today solely by Wall Street's schemes of world domination as expressed in the Marshall Plan and the proposed Atlantic war alliance. It is our military and those of the British who have established a General Headquarters at Fontainbleau. Not Russian but Americans have military bases and are intervening in the internal affairs of Greece, Turkey, Iran, China, Canada, Greenland, Brazil, as well as France and Italy.

"On Feb. 27 the 'New York Times' editorially termed the danger of an invasion of our shores wildly improbable. What the 'Times' failed to say, however, was that the threat of aggression against other nations is not wildly improbable—and that this threat emanates precisely from Wall Street and its cartel-connected trusts. It is this which explains the colossal peace-time military budget, the effort to stampede the nation into the Atlantic war alliance and plunge America and the world into an atomic war.

OPPOSE NEW WAR

"We Communists join with millions of other patriotic Americans in opposing those who seek a new world war. We strive for peace and friendship between the U. S. A., the USSR, the new democracies, the colonial and all other peoples. We do not regard a new world holocaust as inevitable. We hold the peaceful co-existence of two different social systems wholly possible. We believe that efforts of the peoples to achieve peace can check the war-makers and create new opportunities to achieve peace. The peace camp is infinitely stronger than the war camp.

"It is this which makes the war camp so reckless and ruthless. An atmosphere is rapidly being created in our nation that to work for peace and American-Soviet amity is considered equivalent to treason. The trial of the Communist leaders, the current witch-hunts and other attacks on civil liberties are indicative of today's political climate.

"If, despite the efforts of the peace forces of America and the world, Wall Street should succeed in plunging the world into war, we would oppose it as an unjust, aggressive, imperialist war, as an undemocratic and an anti-Socialist war, destructive of the deepest interests of the American people and all humanity. Even as Lincoln while a Congressman opposed the unjust, annexationist Mexican War and demanded its termination, so would we Communists cooperate with all democratic forces to defeat the predatory war aims of American imperialism and bring such a war to a speedy conclusion on the basis of a democratic peace.

"American security and American peace lie in world security and world peace—not in any Wall Street-Ueber-Alles policy decked out in the trappings of 'the American century.'

"For our part we will work with all those who seek peace, democracy and social progress. The American people, assuming their historic responsibility, must reject the war policies of the Wall Street-Churchill cartelists and their bipartisan puppets and return our nation to the peace policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt; the 'Grand Design' and cornerstone of which is firm American-Soviet friendship."

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 332

The Worker, March 13, 1949

FRANKFELD ANSWERS SUNPAPER

Baltimore.—Philip Frankfeld, chairman of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia announced that Communist Party members in this country would oppose Wall Street's plans to embroil this country in any war of aggression and would "co-operate with all democratic forces to defeat the predatory war aims of American imperialism and bring such a war to a speedy conclusion on the basis of a democratic peace."

This declaration was a response to a query by the Baltimore Sun on a statement made by William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis.

"I believe the statement in its entirety represents a patriotic contribution in the struggle for peace which is for the general welfare of all Americans," Frankfeld declared.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 333

**FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY!**

MARCH 1, 1949

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE LEADS STRUGGLE OF
MASSES FOR PEACE**

(PLENUM CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, FRANCE)

A Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France was held in Paris on February 22 and 23. Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Central Committee, reported on the political line of the Party and on the cantonal elections.

In his report Comrade Duclos thoroughly analysed the international situation and said that the forthcoming cantonal elections should be fought under the slogan of the struggle for peace and against the instigators of a new war.

The same day, Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Party addressed the Plenum, reports "l'Humanite". He made the following statement:—

Hoping to confuse us, the enemies of the people put the question: "What would you do if the Red Army occupied Paris?"

Here is our answer:

1. The Soviet Union has never been and can never be an aggressor against any country. The land of Socialism, by its very essence, cannot pursue the policy of aggression and

war characteristic of the imperialist powers. The Soviet Army, the army of the heroic defenders of Stalingrad, has never attacked another nation. It has fulfilled its glorious mission of liberator of the peoples from Hitler Germany and has won the heartfelt gratitude of those peoples.

2. We base our stand on facts, not on suppositions. Today the facts are these: the French Government is cooperating actively in the aggressive policy of the Anglo-American imperialists; a foreign general staff has been set up at Fontainebleau; our country and its over-seas territories have been turned into bases of aggression against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

3. Since this question has been raised, we shall answer firmly: should the joint efforts of all French lovers of freedom and peace fail to bring our country back to the camp of democracy and peace; if, as a result, our people are involved against their will in a war against the Soviet Union; if under such conditions the Soviet Army—defending the cause of the peoples, the cause of Socialism—in its battle against the aggressor were forced to enter our territory, could the working people and the entire people of France conduct themselves any differently in relation to the Soviet Army than the working people and the peoples of Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia had done?

.....

We are faithful to the genuine traditions of Socialism, the traditions of the international working class movement. Illustrating this statement, Thorez quoted from the resolutions adopted at national and international Socialist congresses. At the Fourth Congress of the French Socialist Party held in Nancy in 1907 a resolution was adopted which called on the proletariat to prepare and organise united action to set in motion all the forces of the working class and the Socialist Party in each country, according to the circumstances, in order to fight the danger of war in every possible way, in Parliament, by public agitation, popular demonstrations, a general strike and insurrection.

The people who asked these questions would like to insult and slander us. Now they are screaming for repression. But what hypocrisy there is in their venomous outbursts and how many admissions. We affirm that because of its very nature, the land of Socialism can never wage an aggressive war.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 334

**FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY!**

MARCH 15, 1949

COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES
RAISE BANNER OF STRUGGLE IN DEFENCE OF PEACE AND AC-
TIVELY OPPOSE THE WARMONGERS—THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
AGGRESSORS

The statement made by Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, about the attitude of the working class and working people of France in the event of aggression against the Soviet Union and the New Democracies has been echoed by the Communist Parties and working people of the capitalist countries. Millions have voiced their determination to frustrate the plans of the Anglo-American warmongers and to defend the bulwark of peace—the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy.

Below we publish excerpts from the statements made by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Italy, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, Mexico, Canada, Finland, Argentina, Australia and Columbia. Similar statements were made by the Communist Parties of the United States, Austria, Japan, Cuba, Uruguay and other countries.